

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

680

CONFIDENTIAL

January 28, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Please prepare an assessment of the attached per the President's note.

2B.

Zbigniew Brzezinski

Attachment

Article from The Economist, January 19, 1980

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Review on July 28, 1980

## INTERNATIONAL

to help them to pose as Iran's friends by imposing sanctions on Iran. However, he cast no vote in the council, leaving it to Russia to veto the resolution. But for that veto, it would have been adopted; it got 10 votes (one more than the minimum required), including all except one (Bangladesh) of the African, Asian and Caribbean council members.

## West Bank

## The king dips in his toe again

FROM OUR ISRAEL CORRESPONDENT

Jordan has recently executed an about-turn in its attitude towards the West Bank; it now looks as if it is engaged in a drive to regain control of the territory. For many years King Hussein has scrupulously observed the 1974 Arab summit ruling that made the Palestine Liberation Organisation the sole representative of the Palestinian people; no less scrupulously he observed the ruling at the 1979 summit which rejected the Camp David peace accords and the role assigned to Jordan in a West Bank settlement.

The initiative for change, the king and his men have long said, must come from the Palestinians themselves. There are now signs that Jordan may have decided that the pressure is sufficient for it to take a more active part. West Bankers, acutely aware of the difficulties of going it alone, have been thinking again about the advantages of the Jordanian connection. And Jordan, for its part, is working in collaboration with certain Israelis both in the Begin government and in the Labour opposition.

Israeli and Jordanian leaders meet discreetly but fairly regularly. In recent encounters, Israelis note what they believe to be a change of heart about the West Bank. King Hussein is convinced, they say, that 1980 will be the year of decision for the West Bank. Jordan is therefore now willing to undertake the administration of self-government in the West Bank as laid down in the Camp David treaty, but with one very important difference: the administration must derive its authority from Jordan, not from Israel.

Were this plan to be laid before the Begin government, it would certainly be thrown out. But, with the government barely limping along as a functioning body, more and more key decisions are being taken by ministers on their own. In the case of the West Bank the minister concerned is Mr Ezer Weizman who, as defence minister, has authority over the military government of the West Bank

and the Gaza Strip.

Thus, in the past month, Jordan has been able quietly to carry out some changes that could be the beginning of a phased transplant of the West Bank from Israeli to Jordanian authority. The most important moves are as follows:

- A Jordanian population census is under way in the West Bank. Census offices are operating in the municipalities and village councils and people have been ordered to report with their birth certificates and to sign two documents: a census form and an application to renew their Jordanian citizenship.

The census is due to be completed early in May to coincide with the scheduled end of the "autonomy" talks involving Israel, Egypt and America. Jordan should thus be able to announce the result of its census together with an announcement that the people of the West Bank have freely chosen to remain subjects of the Jordanian crown. The Israeli military government was not informed about the census until it had already begun and then, upon asking the defence ministry for instructions, was told to let it go forward undisturbed.

- Jordan has obtained Israeli permission to open passport offices in the West Bank; there will be eight of these, including one in east Jerusalem. Since 1967, West Bankers have often been treated to a runaround when their passports expired. If they could not get to Amman, they had to apply through their mayors or village heads. By opening passport offices of their own, the Jordanians have vested authority in trusted officials. The offices will be installed in the chambers of commerce, which tend to be pro-Jordanian, rather than the town halls, which tend to be pro-PLO.

- Jordanian interior ministry officials, including doormen, have been ordered to report for work and have started once again to get their salaries from Amman

Back in the game.



(many Jordanian salaries have continued to flow into the West Bank throughout Israel's occupation).

- Preparations began last month for the establishment of a university in east Jerusalem. Its aim: to establish east Jerusalem as the West Bank's capital and, perhaps, to downgrade the universities at Birzeit and Bethlehem and turn them into junior branches of the main institution in Jerusalem. Jordan has established a new higher education authority in Amman, put the rector of the Yarmouk University in Irbid at its head and invited West Bank representatives to take their seats. Since all their budgets originate in Amman, none demurred.

- Jordan is dispensing money on the West Bank's infrastructure. In the past month, 50 villages in the Nablus district have suddenly asked the military government for permission to found co-operative societies to provide such services as water, electricity, health and education. When asked where their financing was coming from, they replied: Amman. Jordan has informed the villages that they will all be linked to the electricity network that Jordan is to set up this year. Altogether, the Israelis estimate that Jordan's planned investment in the West Bank in 1980 is around \$50m, all of it money that last year's Baghdad summit agreed should go to the West Bank.

- Money has also started flowing in through Jordan for the building of two government hospitals, one in Ramallah and another in Nablus. A search is on for the site of another, in Jerusalem, possibly in an area that abuts one of the new Jewish suburbs built in Jerusalem since 1967. Thus Jordan will grasp the initiative in drawing anew the demarcation line between Arab and Jewish Jerusalem.

Various events in the past week or two acquire new significance in the light of this new Jordanian policy. President Sadat's reiterated request to Mr Begin at Aswan last week to provide the Gaza Strip with autonomy in advance of the West Bank could be an attempt to separate the two territories, so that, under the cover of a grant of self-government, the Gaza Strip would fall to Egyptian patronage and the West Bank to Jordan's. And Israel's Labour party leaders are talking again about the "Jordanian option".

Mr Shimon Peres, the likely winner of next year's general election, has urged Israeli concessions on the West Bank and an interim peace accommodation with Jordan. Mr Yitzhak Rabin, who as Labour prime minister in 1976 just missed signing an interim arrangement with Jordan, this week called on the United States and on his own government to acknowledge that Jordan holds the key to the consolidation of a Middle East peace.

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/NFA~

*Source*

The President asked Dr. Brzezinski to assess a recent Economist article on Jordan's West Bank policy and Brzezinski forwarded the request to the DCI.

Attached is our reply briefly giving our analysis of the main thrust of Jordanian policy and comparing our information with some of the details given in The Economist.

Helene L. Boatner  
Director, Political Analysis

Date 4 February 1980

FORM 5-75 101 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

THE DIRECTOR OF  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Deputy Director for National Foreign Assessment

NOTE FOR THE DIRECTOR

Attached is our response to  
Dr. Brzezinski's request for an  
analysis of a recent Economist  
article on Jordan's West Bank  
policy.

Bruce C. Clarke, Jr.

Attachment:  
PA M 80-10057

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Zbig,

Attached is a memorandum giving our assessment of Jordan's West Bank policy and comparing our information with that contained in The Economist article as requested by the President.

Yours,

STANSFIELD TURNER

Att: a/s

The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20506

CONFIDENTIAL

4 February 1980

MEMORANDUM

## JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK

1,4 There has been an increase in the scope and extent of Jordanian activity in the West Bank along the general lines described in The Economist article. We doubt, however, that the increase represents either an "about turn" in Jordanian policy or an attempt on the part of King Hussein to "... undertake the administration of self-government in the West Bank as laid down in the Camp David treaty..." as The Economist claims. We attribute Jordan's stepped up activity to:

- 1,4
- Hussein's belief that the autonomy negotiations are on the verge of collapse and that he must have his political assets on the West Bank ready for the next steps. The King has no alternatives to autonomy in mind, but wants to be prepared for developments such as a change in the Israeli government or a return to the Geneva conference.
  - Amman's desire to boost its supporters in the area in anticipation of the now canceled municipal elections, which had been scheduled for April 1980.
  - The Jordanian perception that the increasingly obvious disarray in the Palestine Liberation Organization gave them an opportunity to undercut PLO influence in the area. The general improvement in PLO-Jordanian relations over the last year has had little effect on the often bitter rivalry between the two for influence in the West Bank.

*This memorandum was prepared by [ ] the Near East South Asia Division, Office of Political Analysis. It was coordinated with the Office of Economic Research, the National Intelligence Officer for Near East South Asia and the Director of Operations. Questions and comments should be addressed to Chief, Israel-Levant Branch [ ]*

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PA M 80-10057

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--Concern that Communist activity in the area was beginning to make inroads into the ranks of Jordan's supporters.

1,4  
--Availability of about \$70 million in aid funds pledged to the West Bank at the 1978 Baghdad summit. This money is supposed to be administered by a joint Jordanian-PLO committee, but in fact Jordan has controlled the aid distribution and funneled it to Amman's backers in the area.

2, 4  
The Jordanian activity also reflects traditional Jordanian concern about maintaining political influence in the West Bank, a concern that has been evident since the area was occupied by Israel in 1967. To this end, Jordan has continued to provide a number of services to West Bankers and has sought to use its aid programs to boost its political stock among West Bankers. Jordan has continued to pay salaries to many West Bank civil servants who were on its payroll before 1967. We have little hard evidence on the extent of these payments but one recent estimate claimed that Amman pays salaries to over 20,000 civil servants in the West Bank in addition to about 5,000 retired workers.

4  
Amman also provides loan and grant aid to West Bank villages and municipalities. These loans provide Jordan with substantial political leverage in the area.

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These activities serve to fulfill several Jordanian objectives including:

- 4  
--Reinforcing the image of an historical political connection between the two banks of the Jordan River and thus quietly keeping alive Jordan's claim to the area.
- Helping Hussein retain valuable political assets in the area, thus insuring that whatever the political future of the West Bank, Amman will have a body of supporters there to protect its interests.

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Consequently, we believe the recent increase in Jordanian activity reflects traditional Jordanian policy of taking advantage of favorable conditions to increase its political influence in the area and should not be seen as marking either a specific change in Jordanian policy or renewed interest in the autonomy talks.

NFAC Comments on Points Raised in The Economist

1. Jordan is undertaking a census on the West Bank.

1, 4  
These reports began to appear in the Israeli press in September 1979. We have no other evidence that such a survey is underway and Jordanian officials have denied they are undertaking a census on the West Bank, although one is now being taken on the East Bank.

2. Jordan is opening passport offices on the West Bank.

1, 4  
Jordanian officials admit that they have revived activity by their passport officials on the West Bank but maintain that the changes are merely administrative and designed to streamline the process by which West Bankers obtain travel documents. They deny any political significance in these changes. We believe that the Jordanian denials are not strictly correct and that Amman has in fact tried to use these new passport procedures to increase its visibility in the West Bank.

3. Jordanian interior ministry officials have been ordered back to work.

1, 2, 4  
Jordan has paid some civil servant salaries more or less continuously since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967 and has urged so-called "vital" bureaucrats--teachers, police and firemen--to remain on the job in spite of the occupation. We suspect the interior ministry officials may have been recalled to help with the new passport procedures.

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4. Jordan is planning a new university in East Jerusalem.

From time to time various PLO officials have talked about plans to establish a "Palestine Open University" in East Jerusalem but we have no evidence that these plans have gone beyond the talking stage or that Jordan is involved. West Bank Arab universities--there are now three four-year institutions operating in the area--are in theory run from Amman, but in practice they operate largely independently. West Bank universities get some money from Jordan, but raise most of their money themselves.

5. Jordan is dispensing large sums to West Bank co-operatives.

1, 2, 3 This is the area in which we have noted the greatest increase in Jordanian activity in recent months. Amman has had some difficulty securing Israeli military government permission to transfer large sums to the West Bank co-operatives

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[redacted] We believe the Jordanians are using the co-operative movement in an effort to bypass the municipal mayors, many of whom are outspokenly pro-PLO.

6. Jordan is building government hospitals in Ramallah and Nablus.

1 We have seen no reports on this, although the Israeli press has reported that Jordan may be planning to fund a hospital in East Jerusalem.

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SUBJECT: Jordan and the West Bank

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NFAC/OPA/NESA  (4 Feb 80)

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Back in the game



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